1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of the lagoon or on sandy bottoms close to the beach. The following fish are commonly speared: *pala, oli, puteietale, ulua* (a deep-water fish speared outside the lagoon), *tupoupou, taetaeuma*; the eels; the trigger family, deep-sea members of which are sometimes found inside the lagoon; *wituwili, goyalo, palu uli, piopio, matarle, lali,* and *fupe*. The various rays are speared with a *teo*, to the base of which a sennit cord is tied so that the spear will not be lost.

227 372 416 3. Torch fishing. Torches (*lama*) are made late in the afternoon preceding the fishing. Two dry cocoanut midribs are used for the reef fishing torch (*lomalama akau*), three midribs for the *malau* fishing torch (*lama malau*). To make the reef fishing torch the broad butt is cut from each midrib. The first midrib is laid on the ground, dull side (*tua*, back) down, the smooth side (*mulioakwake*) facing upward. The second midrib is placed on top of the first, the dull side of the second leaf next to the smooth side of the first. Starting from the butt end, the worker gathers together with both hands the leaflets for a length of about 18 inches. Holding these with the left hand, he takes with the right hand two leaflets from the underneath leaf and twists these several times around the gathered leaflets of both leaves. Then he picks up with the left hand two leaflets from the top leaf and twists the first two leaflets three or four times around the second two leaflets and buries the twisted leaflets under the general gathering of leaflets. He gathers up all the leaflets for a second fastening about 18 inches from the first, and proceeds thus until he has made a compact bundle. When fired, the torch burns down to the fastening and then smoulders. The buried leaflets are then loosened by a shake or by a flick of the hand and flame up again. To dim a torch by lowering the head and then make it flame again by raising the head is termed *wekapulapula*.

226 Of the two fishers, the assistant holds the torch and carries the spare ones so that the fisherman is free to catch the fish. The light of the torch shows the sleeping fish or attracts them to the surface, where they are speared or clubbed to death. The partners progress along the reef shelf, probing with the torch on the inside of the reef. The fish caught are strung together on a cocoanut fiber or placed in a basket. Fish caught by reef torch fishing are: *kalowa, ie, tauwo, ouaiki, uayi, kauo, olaulo, katiua*, parrot fishes, and all the reef fish caught by reef groping.

Torching is also used in catching flying fish and *malau* (p. 38) and for canoe fishing outside the reef (*ti wakapulapula*). The canoe is either stationary or allowed to drift slowly down the reef. A torch is held by one member of the canoe crew to attract to the canoe such fish as night-feeding cangaroids, barracuda, dog fish, and tuna. The bait and hook used depend on the type of fish to be caught.

WEIRS AND SWEEPS

The walled stone fishweir (p. 159), used for catching reef fish in the shallow waters of the lagoon, is called *fa wala iha* or *tauwaga*; the method of using it, *tali tauwaga*:

The weirs are placed in the reef shallows at places where the water at ebb tide is not more than 1 foot deep. The fish come inshore from the reef at high tide. At the ebbing of the tide, when they are carried out again, the exit of the weir is blocked with a scoop net (*tau yaoke*) or with a cone-shaped fishing basket (*olo wasi au*) weighted down with a stone. The fisherman watches the course of the weir and has his net or basket ready when the fish enter. His partner beats the water behind the fish and drives them to the exit. The mouth of the basket is closed as soon as the fish enter and then the basket is raised from the water. The fish are lifted out, transferred to another fishing basket, and the basket reset for more fish.

621 422 Stone weirs are the property of the village on whose stretch of lagoon shallows they are built. All men of the owning village use the weirs freely at any time. Fish

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households; when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is complete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

Formerly, the group of elders (*tupele*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for *laukava* feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangango* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*auvaga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinaki*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tunu*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

FIRE

Fire (*ami*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau fa ami*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kawaki*. The hearth groove is *ihanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ikoika*, and to make fire thus is *meto ami*.

1: Beagle hole & Beagle hole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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The operator procures a piece of *puapua* wood from which the bark has been removed. This wood is about 4 feet long and 1 inch in diameter and has numerous grooves on it from previous use. The operator splits the end of the stick and cuts off a section to use as a rubbing stick 9 inches long, ¼ inch thick at the proximal end (*mulimuli*), and about ⅜ inch thick at the distal end (*mate*). The distal end is shaped to a mesial point by a transverse cut with a knife. A few slices of wood are also taken off the hearth stick to form a flat surface to rub on. The point of a knife, formerly a sharp pointed shell, is pressed into the distal end of this flat surface to form a hole which serves as a blockage point for the farthest distal movement of the rubbing stick. An assistant crouching over the stick firmly holds the distal end of the hearth stick (*yoliyoli te lakau*) with foot and hand. The operator sits on the floor and locks one leg over the hearth. He holds the rubbing stick so that the crossed thumbs are placed beneath the stick; the flexed fingers of the right hand are placed over the stick and on them are laid the flexed fingers of the other hand. The grip is close to the distal end of the stick, 3½ inches from the point. He crouches over the stick, leaning the whole weight of his body on it while moving the stick to and fro at an angle of 45 degrees to the hearth. The groove is about 3 inches long. The operator rubs slowly at first, increasing the speed of the rubbing as the dust collects and begins to smoke. When the dust smoulders he cries, "Na tu" (It burns). The smouldering dust is carefully tipped onto a dry coconut husk and fanned or blown until the husk blazes. Some fire-makers prefer a very short rubbing stick and hold it close to the end so as to exert maximum pressure on the stick. An informant, holding his stick 3½ inches from the point, produced fire only on a second attempt.

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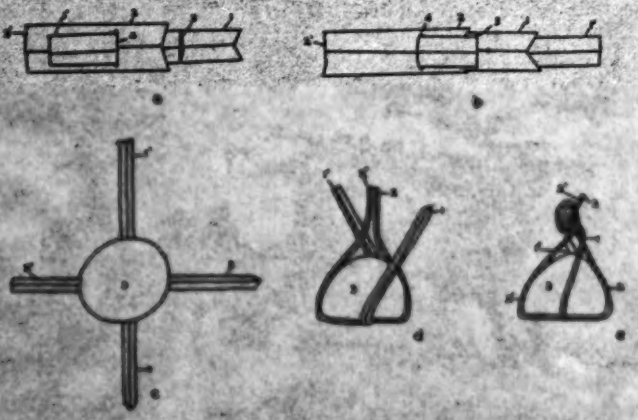

FIGURE 6.—Food packages: *a–b*, *halo* food package; *c–e*, *talo* (*lolo*) food package. *a*, leaflet midribs stripped from butt ends of two coconut leaflets (1, 1′ and 2, 2′), slits (3, 4) made with thumb nail in butt ends of the leaflets, tip end of leaflet (1′) passed through slit (4) in leaflet (2); *b*, tip end of leaflet (2′) folded back, passed through slit (3) in butt end of leaflet (1) and pulled tight, length of joined leaflet placed under food package, two ends make transverse turns around package and tie with overhand knots. *c*, two coconut leaflets (1, 1′ and 2, 2′) crossed and food package (3) placed on crossing; *d*, leaflet ends (2, 2′) brought together and held with one hand; *e*, leaflet ends (1, 1′) twisted around ends (2, 2′); these ends (2, 2′) bent down over transverse turns, pushed up under transverse ends, and pulled tight.

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

The origin of fire is told in two stories:

In the very beginning of time, fire was procured for the Pukapukans by a man named Mauikatoto, a medicine man who was visited by his god in a dream and instructed how to make fire with the hearth and rubbing stick.* Mauikatoto made fire according to the directions of his god. The *kaka* bird (ghost tern) was the assistant who held the far end of the hearth stick. When Mauikatoto had made fire, the tern flew up into the air and circled around him. Mauikatoto hit the tern over the eyes with the hot rubbing stick, making the black marks over the eyes which the *akiaki* bird (a white tern with a black semicircle around the upper part of each eye) carries to this day. A second version says that Mauikatoto's hands were covered with ashes, and as he grasped at the tern, the ashes marked the bird over the eyes. The following part of an old chant is quoted in support of this origin of fire:

Tutu ia i te awi na Mauikatoto,	Flamed the fire (made) by Mauikatoto,
E yolia e te kakavai,	Hearth holder the *kaka* bird,
Naku kotia te vaimats o te akiaki.	I striped the outer corners of the eye of the *akiaki* bird.

The seismic wave of about 300 years ago was so disastrous that all fire was extinguished. Another legend tells how fire was brought back to Pukapuka after this catastrophe:

The god, Ngaliyeyeu, brought fire to the priest, Te Ule. There was no fire in this land. Ngaliyeyeu brought it to Te Ule. Then fire was known. At that time there were no fires belonging to the priests of the gods. Earlier they had lit their fires at the fire of Te Ule. The god of Te Ule, Ngaliyeyeu, became angry. The god said to him, "Put out your fire, that the priests of the gods won't come here to take fire to cook their fish. Leave them to eat their fish only raw. If they are without fire to cook, they won't live. They have been boasting, they fancied that the fire belonged to them." Te Ule put his fire out. The priests became frenzied. They went to Te Ule to seek fire, "O Te Ule, where is the fire?" Te Ule answered, "There is no fire." The priests of the gods ate only raw food. Te Ule got his fish, rubbed his fire till it burned, grilled his fish till cooked, put out the fire. Such was his practice.

This is the technique by which the god succeeded in getting fire: a stick, *puapua*. Split the *puapua*. Cut the one portion into a very small piece. The name of the small piece is *hausati*. The other half of the stick, place beneath. Shave the part on top of the bark of the stick. Place the *hausati* on this place, the name of which is *ikanga*. Then rub. There are two types of rubbing; short, rapid strokes (*patumati*) the one, longer, slow strokes (*watausati*) the other. Arrived at another, later time, Te Ule told the technique for making fire.

For firewood, which is fairly scarce, many parts of the coconut tree are utilised: flower sheath, dry flower stems, small dry coconut shells, and occasionally very dry coconut husks. Firewood is also obtained from other trees, dead branches of which are broken from the trunk or picked up from the ground and broken by beating against a tree trunk or stone. Wood obtained from the reserves is placed in coconut mats, tied with coconut fibers in a bundle, and carried home on top of the head. Gathering firewood is women's work. Today, as formerly, fresh fire is made only if it is im-

* The peculiar version of the story, Mauikatoto is said to be a god, but apparently not refused by any of the three Maui brothers. Unfortunately during this version could not remember how Maui-katoto procured fire in the first instance.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

372 possible to transfer fire from one cook house to another. It is a common sight in any village to see children and adults carrying fire from one cook house to another in order to start a fresh blaze.

To procure fire, one end of a coconut spathe (*tauvae*) is placed in a burning fire until it ignites. As it is carried away, it is waved gently in the air to keep it flaming. To transfer fire from smouldering cinders or ashes another technique is used: a coconut spathe is held with the tip toward the body, and the butt end is folded back on itself about 12 inches from the end; a section of the spathe at the fold is shredded with the fingers; cinders or smouldering wood are picked up in the fold and carried back thus to the cook house, or else the cinders are blown upon and the shredded spathe ignited. This method is used regularly for starting fire with a match.

Ovens

343 Kitchens (*wale imu*) are small houses set back from the dwelling houses.
252 In the villages they are permanent structures, well built, of the *wale nuku-*
yanua type (p. 111). In the copra settlements they are smaller, of rougher
372 build, and, in the main, of the *wale toinaka* style (p. 109). The kitchen shelters the oven (*imu*) which is situated at one end, often under a lean-to shelter, so that the prevailing winds blow the smoke away from the cookt.

The oven ground is excavated to form a sunken space about 4 feet square and 18 inches deep. The edges are lined with logs to prevent the sand from falling in. The bottom is filled with oven stones (*unuu imu*), blocks of coral conglomerate (*kaupapa*), or, when available, imported volcanic stones (*kala*). Because the coral does not last long under heat and must be frequently renewed, *kala* stones are highly valued. *Tridacna* shells are not used as heating material.

To build the oven (*fa'o te imu*), coconut shells (*ngaipa*) are piled on the floor of the oven, dry coconut husks (*pikipiki*) are piled around them, and the oven stones are piled on and around the sides of the husks. The shells are lighted by a burning coconut sheath inserted under them. When the fuel has burned out (*kua oukiuvaka te imu*), the hot stones are pushed aside (*tuku te kau*) with the butt of a coconut midrib (for this purpose called *tau*). Bits of burning wood and charcoal are thrown away. So as not to burn the food a few cold coral pebbles are sprinkled on the hot ground, and the floor of the oven is covered with *pangua* leaves (*lautalau*). Food packets covered with leaves are placed on the lautalau. The hot oven stones are piled on top of the food packets and covered with flat bundles of *pangua* leaves tied with coconut leaflet pebbles. Green coconut husks are carefully arranged on top of the leaves so as to cover them entirely. The whole is covered again with several layers of *pukapuka* coconut-leaf mats arranged so there are no cracks through which heat may escape. Today old copra sacks form a convenient and valued substitute for *pukapuka*. The whole oven covering is trimmed twice; to cover the oven is said to *kave* or *tui te kakau*. Whenever a woman comes back from the lake hole, she places a bundle of *pangua* leaves on her head to serve as a pad to cushion the weight of the basket of taro and looks more leaves into the top of the basket to keep the lake from falling out. The leaves thus brought back to the cook house are preserved for use as oven covers.

[411]

Cooking

252 Cooking is done by women. On certain rare occasions a man may
462 prepare food without disgrace: when in a group of men alone on the reserve

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

and kept on rough platforms made by laying longitudinal members across the tiebeams of the house. Plaited pandanus satchels (*tuluma*, p. 134) for valued fishhooks and larger satchels of the same type for malos and other items of dress were also kept on the tiebeam platforms.

Plaited pandanus pillows (*ulunga laukau*, p. 134) and wooden headrests (*ulunga lakau*; fig.12,*d*) were in occasional use. Most people, however, did not go to the trouble of making a special pillow but used for this purpose any suitable block of wood. Soft driftwood was favorite material, a piece of cork of suitable size and thickness being most prized. Today, the usual headrest is a block of wood inserted into a European pillowcase and packed tight with a thin layer of kapok. This pillow combines a desired hardness with the prestige value of using a European object.

Wooden back rests (*teke*; fig 12, *c*) were occasionally made in former times. Made of *wakaueva* wood, they were used for resting in a reclining position inside or outside the house.

Insect switches (*uesu*) are in great demand when mosquitoes (*namu*) become vicious:

These switches are quickly made by superimposing three sections from the tip end of coconut leaf midribs, each section carrying 10 to 20 leaflets. These are bound together by several transverse turns of fiber from the coconut-leaf midrib or by passing two leaflets from the bottom midrib around the several midribs in opposite directions and tying the ends together with overhand knots. The switch is discarded when the leaflets become dry.

Brooms (*vakavale*) made from leaflet midribs are in common use to sweep up rubbish from the floor of dwelling or cook houses.

A short broom (*vakavale tumulu*, Chap) is made of midribs (*iua*) stripped from coconut leaflets and dried in the sun. These are caught about 1 inch from the proximal end in a three-ply braid of pandanus material (*ilio*) about ¾ inch wide. The projecting midrib ends are bent over and braided with one of the ilio plies as a single ply. The braiding is continued for about 25 inches; for this length, about 170 midribs are required. When all the midribs have been added, the braiding is continued for about 6 inches and fastened with an overhand knot (*vakapeve*). Starting with the commencement end, the braiding is rolled (*tupetupe*) on itself to form a convenient bundle of midribs. The free end of the braid is wound around the butt ends (*mulimuli*) of the midribs and fastened with an overhand knot. The distal ends of the midribs are trimmed off to make bristles about 2 feet long.

A large broom (*vakavale vasie*) for sweeping the ground outside the house is made from hard coconut midribs that have dried on the leaflets. The midribs are gathered together in the hand and spaced evenly around the end of a long handle, generally a length of *ngangie* wood about 4 feet long. The butt ends of the midribs are fastened to the handle with transverse turns of sennit, commencement and finishing ends being buried underneath the turns.

Lighting inside the dwelling house is usually provided by burning a few dry coconut shells on the floor. Today kerosene lanterns are fairly common.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

354 372 especially for evening prayers and for all-night vigils over a corpse. Out-of-doors light, on dark nights of the moon, is provided by small coconut-shell fires. When dry shells are plentiful a number of half shells are strung together on a strip of pandanus material (*lito*) about 2 to 3 feet long by passing one end of the pandanus strip through the soft eyehole of the half shell. Two parallel rows of these shells are placed on the ground and a few dry shells rested on top of the two rows. The shells are lit at the windward end with a *tauma* torch and burn with a fierce flame. Such a firelight torch of dry coconut shells is termed *lama ngaipu*.

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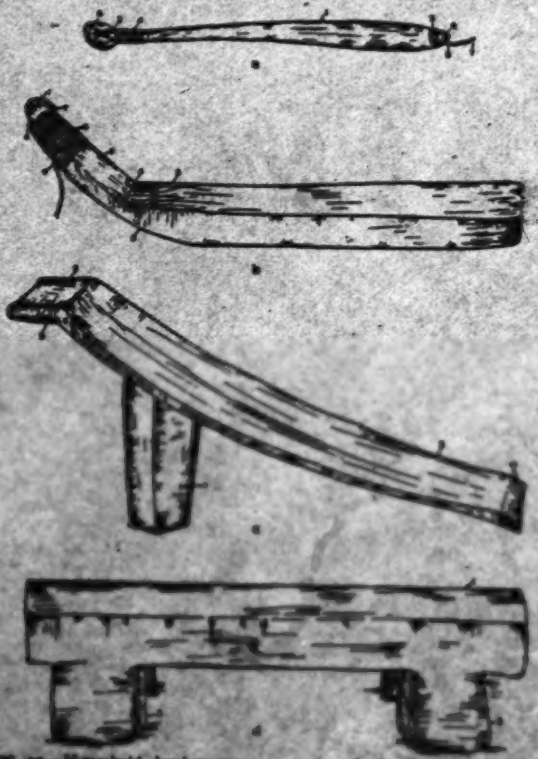

Figure 12.—Household implements. a, scraper (*tukuy*) (Class) for removing flesh in making coconut water container; handle of *ngaupia* wood (1) 15½ inches long, 1 inch thick at proximal end, and ½ inch thick at distal end; outer surface of handle slightly concave longitudinally; distal end of handle inserted into carefully chipped hole

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Bowl Name	Longest Diameter	Shortest Diameter	Depth	Remarks
—(1)	22"	13½"	7"	No lugs.
—(2)	17"	11"	4"	Right lug plain, bored with hole to facilitate hanging. Left lug conventional phallic symbol. (See fig. 13*d*).
Filaso	6' 7"	2'	12¼"	Each lug 9" long and carved into realistic phallus. Bowl holds 1000 talo corms. Two food mixers accompanying this bowl are of ngangie wood, each 23½" long and 2½" diameter at pounding base.
Palemaimua	4' 2"	1' 9"	12"	Lugs plain, 11½" long and 3" diameter in cross section. Bottom shaped like a turtle back (tua woou) and propped with stones when in use. Holds 400 corms.
Elia	6' 4"	1' 3"	10¼"	Lugs plain, 11" long, 4" by 2" in cross section. Turtle-backed. Holds 1000 corms.

Large coconut shells in which to cook talo are set aside whenever they are available. The cook always tells a person about to open a large coconut to crack it with care and put aside the shell when he has drunk the liquid and scooped out the flesh. Shells are thrown away after being used once as cooking utensils.

PLAITING

Plaited articles of coconut leaf or pandanus material are still in common use in Pukapuka. Among these articles are plaited roof sheets and wall screens, floor and sleeping mats, and articles used for transporting, storing, and serving foods. Formerly plaited articles were used also for everyday and ceremonial dress.

In the following brief description of Pukapukan plaited articles, the terminology used is that established by Buck (27, pp. 164-168).

Pandanus Material

Pandanus trees are not cultivated to provide material for mat making. Plaiting material prepared from the leaves (*lau*) of the *wala* variety is termed *lito*, and from the *yulu* variety, *lawulu*.

The method of preparing *lito* material is as follows:

A woman collects green pandanus leaves from trees in the reserves and brings them back to the village. While the five she has made of dry coconut midribs and bone is burning, she takes each leaf and slices off (today with a knife, formerly with a sharp

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

314 372 shell), the longitudinal ridge (*tua iti*) on its back (*koo yiyi te tua o te lito*). The back of the leaf is termed *tua*, the front, *aleale* or *vakevake*. When the fire has burned down to red embers, the worker passes the leaves in bundles of about 10 back and forward over the embers for about 1½ minutes or until the leaves are thoroughly warm (*koo lala te lito ki lungo o te aau*). Some women heat the leaves over the embers before stripping off the back ridge. She next cuts off the narrow ends of the leaves so that the width of each leaf is fairly uniform throughout.

314 The next process is bleaching (*wakawamuka te lito*). The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun, gathered in at sundown each day, and spread again the next day, for several days.

Next the leaf is made smooth (*yayalo te lito ki te ngaipu*). The worker takes the butt of the leaf in her left hand, the rest of the leaf in the right hand in which she holds a dry half coconut shell. She presses the outer surface of the shell against the leaf surface and draws the leaf through her right hand. This smooths the leaf, which has become curled and twisted in bleaching.

She strips off the spikes of the leaf (*yiyi te mata tala*) by biting a commencement with her teeth at the butt of the leaf, then inserting the thumb nail in the slit, and running it longitudinally down each side of the leaf. She smooths the leaf (*yapini te lito*) a second time by winding it round the fingers of the left hand, back (*tua*) side inward, at the same time stretching the leaf until it is as smooth and wide as possible.

314 285 The final process is making the leaves into bundles (*pohai*) by winding one leaf on top of another until a flat, round bundle about 18 inches in diameter results. The completed bundle is fastened with a strip of pandanus and the material is now ready for plaiting.

Like *lito*, *launilu* leaves are first heated over the fire and bleached in the sun. The process then is as follows:

The spikes are trimmed off (*yiyi loo na mata tala*). Next, each leaf is split transversely and longitudinally. The two leaf stripe are soaked in the sea. Each leaf in a bundle of leaves is tied with a single overhand knot to a coconut midrib which is pushed into the sea bottom of shallow water so that the leaves are covered at low tide. After soaking for two to three weeks, both front and back strips of the leaf provide a stiff material (*laubia*) used for mats; the *tua* strips of the leaf, soaked for four weeks or longer, give a soft, flexible material (*hie wasi*) used for plaiting mallos. When removed from the sea, the leaves are washed in fresh water (*wakamangalo i te yua*). They are then dried in the shade (*hawe loo taiua ke pukapuka i lotu o te wasi*), and smoothed (*yapini*) by winding around the hand. The leaves are bleached a second time in the sun (*hawe loo wakalo ke mamaka*) and rolled into large bundles (*pohai*).

A third preparation of pandanus leaves, termed *launuala pukapuka*, is easily prepared to provide a strong material for some designs. Dry pandanus leaves are collected from the ground beneath the trees, the spines are removed, and the leaves smoothed and rolled into bundles.

MATS

285 177 The technical processes in the plaiting of Pukapukan mats correspond exactly to the Samoan technique for plaiting *papa* and *fala* mats (27, pp. 214-221). Plaiting elements are either single (*lunga tai*) as in plaiting thick materials or material where a soft finish is desired, or double (*lunga lua*) treated singly as in plaiting thin material (*lito*) which is to be sturdy and long-wear-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole Σ-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

871 868 in later life is absorbed from his association with his elders in their everyday crafts and tasks. Boys and girls learn to climb coconut trees, and both accompany their elders to the talo beds where they learn talo culture. While the boy associates with his male elders and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing methods, the girl stays with her adult female relatives and learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. No one particular relative is more concerned with the education of the boy or girl than any other relative. Due to the vagaries of household membership and adoption, a child will learn from any related adults in the household.

868 462 857 It may well happen that where there are no boys in the family, or where there are no girls of appropriate age, the roles of the boy and girl will be for the moment reversed.

Thus, Pita, the oldest son in a family of six children, performs more household tasks than most other boys of his age (10 years). His daily duty to feed the pigs is one usually performed by adults. On Saturday, the great day of the week for food preparation, Pita regularly grates coconut for his mother's Sunday talo pudding, doing this in the morning while his mother and his young sister are away in the talo beds. Similarly, because there are no boys in her household, the little girl, Akakino, often accompanies her grandfather when he fishes from his canoe in the lagoon, helping him to bait the hooks, and takes a boy's share in the fishing activities of the household.

868 857 The use and control of fire is learned very early. Almost from the time they start to walk, little children carry burning coconut spathes from one cook house to the next.

372 One woman sends her grown daughter to get fire. The girl is accompanied by her brother, just learning to walk. When she lights the torch, he cries out for it. She gives it to him, and holding it at the proximal end, with the distal end resting over his shoulder, the little boy toddles home with the flaming brand. Three-year-old children are ordinarily sent off to get fire. They confidently put their piece of dried leaflet in any fire that is already burning, wait till it ignites and then stroll home very nonchalantly, carrying the torches over their shoulders or waving them in the air to produce a shower of sparks. The children have certainly no fear of fire and show great confidence and skill in its use.

868 In the more skilled men's crafts—the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines—a boy learns today as he learned in the past, through watching and imitating an expert, either someone in the same household, often his grandfather, or one of the older men of the village group. The older men, being largely released from the necessities of daily fishing, have time for crafts. An interested boy or youth watches the older person at work, and is given at first simple tasks, later graduating to the more difficult skills under the tutelage of the old master. During the days when a village is preparing for a fishing contest, the boys and men sit about together and make or repair in common the fishing gear to be used for the contest. In this way the young people learn all there is to know about the making of fishline, anchor lines, and fishhooks, and are told whatever else of the arts

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukis* may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head covering of *uvelo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *nauu*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

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people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of talo food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, talo, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi lunga*, presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Underworld represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being ensnared in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po Ikuliku then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods smelled its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least